

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF ALALAH IN THE 18–17TH CENTURIES B.C.

by

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Before the analysis of the cuneiform documents found during the excavations at *Alalah* (Tell Açana, Turkey, today) completed in 1949, the history and economic life of North Syria could only be studied on the basis of the pertinent data in the archives discovered at *Ma'ri*. But the publication of the cuneiform sources from *Alalah* brought a qualitative change to the historical research of this territory; there came to light written documents of this town, this political unit in close connection with the state of *Iamhad* | *Halab*, the leading power of North Syria in the first third of the 2nd millennium B. C.

Putting to use of the documents found in Level VII of *Alalah* we are able to form a conception of the economic life of this territory. The great majority of our data relate to the royal estate of the rulers of *Alalah*, but owing to the economic relations and climatic conditions of this territory and North Syria, the picture of the economic life of *Alalah* and its neighbourhood may be regarded as characteristic of the state of *Iamhad* as a whole.

1. AGRICULTURE

1.1. FOOD-GATHERING, HUNTING, FISHING

1.1.1. gathering honey: they probably gathered the honey of wild bees. Honey, as the part in kind of a purchase price, figures in our texts only once: 57:32¹ – 1 *ab-nu*² LĀL³.

1.1.2. hunting: 247:5 – 10 <*pa-ri-si*⁴ ZÍZ ŠE.BA⁵> GÌR⁶ (lú)ša-i-du⁷ indicate that the royal household employed several hunters and that the allowance was given to the overseer of the hunters.

1.1.3. fishing: the river Orontes and the lake Amik in the immediate vicinity of the settlement offered the possibility of fishing. Only one of our three data indicates it for certain that this was a fisherman and not a soldier equipped with a net. 279:5 – 16 <(giš)pa-ri-si ZĪ.DA še-a-am> -ú-ta ù A-ri-ib-ku ŠU.KU⁸; 282:6 – 16 <PA ZĪ.DA še-a-am> A-ri-ib-ku

ŠU.KU₆. Our third datum 381:4-5 — ... Šar-ru-wa | (lú)ZAG.HA⁹ (= (lú)ishu ša nūni) makes reference to a fisherman beyond doubt.

1.2. REED-HARVESTING, TIMBERING

1.2.1. reed-harvesting: reed of varied uses was harvested on the banks of the river and on the lakeshore. Presumably the reed harvesters, or possibly the men processing reed, were designated by the occupational term (lú)GI¹⁰, 240:4-10 <pa-ri-si še-a-am> a-na (lú)GI; 240:10-10 <(giš)pa-ri-si ZÍZ.AN.NA> GÌR (lú)GI; 247:4-10 <pa-ri-si ZÍZ ŠE.BA> GÌR Ah-mu-ša (lú.giš)GI.

1.2.2. timbering: the scanty rainfall of this territory was not favourable for the planting of trees, and this probably accounts for the rare documentation. According to 269:65-30 PÁ ZI.AŠ šī-im (giš)EREN¹¹ GÌR LÚ(meš) (uru)Ū-ti-ia-ar the royal household purchased the cedar in this way. The occupation of a *babalu* GIŠ¹² was perhaps the result of transportation over longer distances, 268:20-5 (giš)pa-ri-si ZÍZ.AN.NA Šī-im-ba-ra-na (lú) ba-bá-la GIŠ. The activity of (lú)giblu¹³, the transporting and dealing in firewood, is connected with timbering, 251:3-10 <pa-ri-si še-a-am šu-ku-ub-tum> (lú. meš)gi-ib-li.

1.3. PLANT GROWING

1.3.1. Cereals¹⁴

1.3.1.1. šē'um (ŠE): šē'um¹⁵ was the most important of the cereals grown in the *Alalah* region. Large quantities were distributed every month for consumption. It also played an important role as a fodder plant.

Feeding of cattle is indicated by

238: 3 — 24 PA; 239: 4-16 PA; 243:11-14 PA; 252: 9-15 PA;
238: 4 — 10 PA; 243:10-30 PA; 245: 3-16 PA; 272:11-[x]PA;

The following data are available on the feeding of horses:

239:1-2-29 PA; 248: 7-6 PA; 253: 8-45 PA; 259:3-4 PA;
240:16 — [x]PA; 249: 5-6 PA; 253:11-28 PA; 258: 5-2 PA;
243:12 — 14 PA; 250: 1-22 PA; 253:15-1 PA; 260: 1-45 PA;
244: 1 — 35 PA; 250: 3-30 PA; 254: 6-55 PA; 260: 4-20 PA;
245: 6 — 10 PA; 251: 5-4 $\frac{1}{2}$ PA; 254:14-26 PA; 261: 4-5 PA;
246:18 — [45]PA; 251:11-20 PA; 256:20-30 PA; 264:22-30 PA;
246:20 — 5 PA; 251:18-3 PA; 256:26-3 PA; 269:45-12 PA;
246:27 — 5 PA; 252: 3-45 PA; 256:28-1 PA; 269:48-4 PA;
248: 3 — 18 PA; 252:21-[x]PA; 259: 1-40 PA; 269:49-5 PA;
269:62-1 PA;
276:17-45 PA.

The distributed quantities ranged from 8 to 440 litres, but it does not appear from our data how many horses were fed with the listed quantities.

Data relating to the feeding of *donkeys*:

254:12-1 PA; 265:20-2 PA; 269:51-1 PA; 269:57-2 PA;
269:58-2 PA.

From the small quantity of *še'um* distributed one may conclude that it was only given to travellers in transit or staying for a short time in the town. Grain crops were much less important for the feeding of donkeys than for horses.

Our data referring to the feeding of *fowl*,
birds:

241: 5-4 PA; 243: 7-3 PA; 248:5-3 $\frac{1}{2}$ PA; 274:18-3 PA;
241:17-3 PA; 243: 8-3 PA; 257:5-3 PA; 274:19-1 PA;
242: 9-2 PA; 246:26-4 PA; 261:7-3 PA; 242:11-2 PA;

geese:

251:6-3 PA; 251:10-2 PA; 251:15-2 PA; 264:11-1 PA;
266:1-50 PA.

We have three more interesting data on the use of *še'um* as a fodder

254:11-1 (PA ŠE) ŠĀ.GAL *ša-bi-i-ti*,
254:17-10 (PA ŠE) *a-na Ta-ah-e-ia* (mí.hal)MAŠ and
269:59-1 (PA ŠE) ŠĀ.GAL ANŠE.GAM.MAL which means that in addition to the above-listed useful animals they foraged the gazelle (*šabitum*, MAŠ) and the camel (*gammalum*, ANŠE.GAM.MAL).

Še'um played an important part in prices fixed in contract of sale, figures almost invariably as the portion in kind of the price:

52:9-1 LI (=1000) *pa-ri-si* ŠE; 54:11-2 ME (=200) *pa-ri-si* ŠE;
56:14-[x] *pa-ri-si* ŠE; 57:30-30 *pa-ri-si* ŠE; 61:6-1(?) *me-at* (=100) ŠE; 97:5-5 *pa-ri-si* ŠE. We have two data indicating that *še'um* was distributed as flour (ZĪ.DA - *qēmum*¹⁶):

279:6-ŠU.NIGIN 1 *šu-ši* (=60) 2 (giš)PA ZĪ.DA ŠE,
282:7-ŠU.NIGIN 93 (PA) ZĪ.DA ŠE ZĪ.GA.

It was issued as seed-grain (NUMUN- *zēru*¹⁷) in the following cases:

251:4-8 (PA ŠE) *a-ad-du* NUMUN ... ITI *al-la-an-na-tim*,
252: 8-40 (PA ŠE) *a-na* NUMUN GĪR (lú)APIN ... ITI *gi-ra-ri*,
269:50-29 (PA ŠE) *a-nu* NUMUN.

We only know of one field in which *še'um* was further processed:
245:16-40 (PA ŠE) *a-na* BAPPİR *pa-ap-pi-ri* i.e. into malt (beer cake),
and in another case

248:1-1 ME 70 *pa-ri-si* ŠE *a-na* KAŠ into beer.

3.1.2. *kunāšum* (ZĪZ): in addition to *še'um*, *kunāšum*¹⁸ was the most important grain crop in the *Alalah* region; also their fields of use coincided, and it played an important role in foraging and nutrition.

For feeding *horses*:

242:4 14 PA; 268:25–2 PA; 281:7–5 PA.

For feeding *fowl*,

birds:

242:11–1 PA; 243:19–1 PA; 243:22–1 PA; 246:12–1 PA;

273:12–1 PA; 273:14–1 PA; 274:31–3 PA; 281: 3–1 PA.

geese:

251:26–[x <PA ZÍZ> Š]À.GAL UZ.MUŠEN ĠĠR *Ki-in-ni*.

On the occasion of military activity they took with themselves flour made of *kunāšum*:

238:27–50 <PA> ZĠ.DA ZÍZ *a-na* KASKAL LUGAL.

Kunāšum figures also in loan transactions:

36:2–20 PA; 42:1–640 PA; 43:1–10 PA; 43:4–15 PA.

It was invariably a component of the in-kind-portion of prices: 52:10–1 LI *pa-ri-si* ZÍZ; 53:6–5 ME *pa-ri-si* ZÍZ; 54:12–1 ME *pa-ri-si* ZÍZ; 57:31–20 *pa-ri-si* ZÍZ; 58:6–15 *pa-ri-si* ZÍZ; 62:8–30 *pa-ri-si* ZÍZ.

As a seed grain it appears in the lines

240:14–[x *me-a*]t 20 <PA ZÍZ> *a-na* NUMUN *na-di-in* . . . ITI *e-ek-ki-e-na* and

274:22–5 *me-tim pa-ri-si* ZÍZ NUMUN x.

An important field of further use is brewing:

238:36–10 <PA ZÍZ> *a-na* KAŠ *e-pi-iš* (giš)GI,

241:27–5 <PA ZÍZ> KAŠ [. . .] *a-na* É.GAL,

243:15–5 <PA ZÍZ> *a-na* KAŠ.Ú.SA.

1.3.2. Legumes

1.3.2.1. (ú)*hilimitu*¹⁹: in our opinion this can be grouped with legumes on the basis of 275:r.11–5 $\frac{2}{3}$ PA <*hilimitu*> ZĠ.DA *a-na a-ad-du*, since in the

preceding lines (275:r.3–9) $3\frac{1}{2}$ *parīsu hilimitu* were distributed, and *hilimitu* was probably registered as flour. It appears from lines 4–5 of 283:r. that it was used by the baker: $\frac{1}{2}$ *qa* (ú)*hi-li-mi-tu* | *a-na Bur-ra* (lú)NINDA.DU₈.DU₈.

1.3.2.2. *kakkām* (GŪ.TUR)²⁰: also peas served purposes of nutrition. According to lines 7–11 of 287, 3 *parīsu* were distributed of it.

1.3.3. Fodder plants

1.3.3.1. *imrām*²¹: in our texts it is documented only in one instance the in kind portion of the purchase price: 56:15–[x] (giš)*pa-ri-si im-ri*

1.3.3.2. *kiššānum* (ZI.AŠ)²²: this species of plant, which cannot be defined more closely, was only used for foraging.

For the feeding of *fowl* (geese): 266:1 – 50 PA.

For the feeding of *horses*:

240:18 – 2 PA; 246:36 – 2 PA; 254:23 – 35 PA; 267: 1 – 120 PA;

241:10 – 8 PA; 249:10 – 2 PA; 256: 6 – 28 PA; 267: 6 – 30 PA;

243:28 – 7 PA; 250: 4 – 30 PA; 256:10 – $\frac{1}{2}$ PA; 267:16 – 8 PA;

244: 2 – 30 PA; 251:29 – 10 PA; 259: 8 – 1 PA; 269:70 – 2 PA;

245:15 – 10 PA; 251:30 – 1 PA; 260: 2 – 30 PA; 269:71 – 5 PA;

246:29 – 30 PA; 253:22 – 20 PA; 260: 4 – 7 PA; 269:77 – 20 PA;

246:34 – 2 PA; 253:23 – 20 PA; 264:28 – 15 PA; 269:78 – 25 PA;

273:11 – 5 PA.

For the feeding of *donkeys*:

259:10 – $\frac{1}{2}$ PA; 265:32 – 1 PA; 269:69 – $\frac{1}{3}$ PA; 269:78 – 1 PA; $\frac{1}{2}$ PA;

275:11' – 3 PA.

For feeding of *cattle*:

243:26 – 7 PA; 254:24 – 1 *šu-ši* PA; 255:6 – 15 PA; 257:2 – 5 PA; 267:3 – 84

PA; 267:4 – 40 PA; 267:8 – 28 PA; 267:17 – 3 PA; 267:18 – 2 PA.

Kiššānum also appears in loans: 42:2 – 2 ME 20 *pa-ri-si* | *ki-ša-nu* and it occurs also as a price supplement: 53:7 – 10 *pa-ri-si ki-ša-nu*.

1.3.4. Spice plants

1.3.4.1. *zibūm* ((ú)DIN.TIR.GE₆.SAR)²³: the black cumin was in all probability used by the bakers for flavouring, 256:11 – 12 – 10 PA *zi-*

bu-ú SAR *a-na* (uru) *A-li-me* | $\frac{1}{3}$ *Bur-ra* (lú)NINDA.DU₈.DU₈; 260:7 – 11

– 1 PA *zi-bu* | *a-na E-tar-ma-lik* | 1 *zi-bu a-na* É.GAL | $\frac{1}{3}$ *zi-bu a-na*

Bur-ra | 14 *zi-bu a-na Ir-ha-mi-la*; 264:31 – 35 – 1 PA (ú)DIN.TIR.GE₆.

SAR | GÌR *Iš-ma-a-da* (lú)NAGAR | 1 PA *i-na* É.GAL-*lim* | $\frac{1}{3}$ *Bur-ra-AN*

| 1 *E-tar-ma-lik*.

1.3.5. Fruit

1.3.5.1. *karānum* ((giš)GEŠTIN)²⁴: three of the texts – no. 62, 63 and 64 – found in Level VII deal with the sale of vineyards (A.ŠĀ (giš) GEŠTIN). The size of the vineyards varies from 1 – 3 GÁN (1 GÁN

(*ikū*) = 3528,5 m² 25). It seems that the royal estate was not engaged in

viniculture because no wine figures on the ration lists. The population

might have engaged in viniculture on small plots, perhaps as a side line

occupation (63:1 – 4 – 2 GÁN A.ŠĀ (giš) GEŠTIN | *i-na* (uru) *A-i-ir-ra-še*

(ki) | KI (mí) *Ū-ru-ba-al-tum* | DAM *Du-ru-ú* (lú)SIMUG). The town of *Airraše* appears in 64:3 also in connection with the sale of vineyard.

1.3.5.2. *sirdum*²⁶: the only tree species on which we have data in connection with its growing in gardening circumstances. The centre of olive-tree cultivation might have been the town of *Murar*²⁷ (120:5 – *si-ir-di* (uru) *Mu-ra-ar*(ki)). The crop was presumably processed on the spot.

1.4. ANIMAL BREEDING

1.4.1. F o w l

1.4.1.1. *iššurum* (MUŠEN)²⁸: on the basis of the texts found in the VIIIth *Alalah* Level it cannot be decided what individuals this collective terms covers. It is as difficult to decide either trapped or domesticated birds are involved here. But their great number (126:11 – 3 *me-tim* MUŠEN(há), 126:18 – 1 LI 2 ME MUŠEN(há)) indicates domesticated species. We know on the basis of text 126 that they used them also as offerings. We know several fowlers by name. Two textual instance indicate that the fowlers were concerned not only with the fowl of the royal estate but kept fowl also at their own risk or profit, or possibly caught further specimens and marketed them, 256:8 – 1 <PA ZÍZ> *ši-im* MUŠEN x GİR *Ig-mi-ra-a-du*; 269:16 – 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ <PA ZÍZ> *ši-im* 7 MUŠEN GİR *Ku-uz-zi*.

They used *še'um* and *kunāšum* for feeding them (cf. 1.3.1.1., 1.3.1.2., 1.3.3.2.).

1.4.1.2. *usum* (UZ.MUŠEN)²⁹: geese do not figure except in the places listed under 1.3.1.1., 1.3.1.2. and 1.3.3.2. They were fed with *še'um*, *kunāšum* and *kiššānum*. Geese were kept not only by the fowlers, but also by the overseer of the bakers (264:11 – 1 <PA ŠE> ŠĀ.GAL UZ. MUŠEN GİR (lú) HATIM) and also by *Werikiba*, the *sukkallum* (266:1 – 3 – 50 (giš)*pa-ri-si ki-ša-nu* | *a-na We-ri-ki-ba* (lú)SUKKAL | ŠĀ.GAL *ša* UZ.MUŠEN KI-*šu-ma*).

1.4.2. S m a l l a n i m a l s

1.4.2.1. *immerum*(UDU)³⁰: from the numerical data in connection of sheep it appears that they kept about ten times more sheep than cattle. We have only one datum on the foraging of sheep, but the text is fragmentary and it cannot be determined on what they were fed, 277:10 – 8 <PA ?> ŠĀ.GAL GU₄(há) *ù* UDU.NÍTA(há). Despite the fragmentary nature of the tablet this instance is important because it allows of the conclusion that the sheep were foraged to complement grazing. We have two data indicating that the royal household purchased sheep for *kunāšum* 269:15 – 11 <PA ZÍZ> *ši-im* UDU(há) *ša i-na* (uru) *Ši-ku-ri-i ub-lu* 269:30 – 12 <PA ZÍZ> *ši-im* UDU GİR SÍB *Ta-ri-ba-am-mu*. Accordir to the last datum, also the shepherd in royal service kept sheep of 1

own, similarly to the fowlers. Besides the royal household where several thousand sheep were kept — 28.800³¹ were brought from *Kargamiš* (349:1 — 3 — 2 SIG₇ 8 LI 8 ME UDU(há) | *ša* LÚ *Kar-ka-mi-is*(ki) | *ú-ša-bi-lu*), the notabilities kept large flocks. Among the goods confiscated from the notabilities who revolted against the *Ammitakum*, which were distributed by the ruler in the following year, 3.100 sheep are figuring, 410:15 — 3 *li-mi* 1 *me-at* UDU. The basis of the dispute between *Nakkušše*, the influential *bārām*-priest and *Iarim-Lim* — of which several documents give account (9,10 and 98f) — was 100 sheep and 10 cattle. Also the inhabitants of the town of *Emar*³² kept sheep, 348:12 — 13 — ŠU.NIGIN 29 UDU(há) | *ša* (uru)*E-ma-ar*(ki).

On festive occasions, such as the wedding of the daughter of *Ammi-takum*, fleecy sheep and cattle were purchased as gifts, 411:1 — 3 — 1 *ma-na* GÍN KÛ.BABBAR | *a-na* GU₄(há) *ú* SÍG.UDU | *a-na* ZLGA *id-di-nu*. According to 414:1 the *šangû*-priest gave 31 sheep to the woman *Tamarhi*.

In addition to the above data, sheep figure in 346:6 — 7 — ŠU.NIGIN 5 UDU(há) | *ša* *qa-ti* *Ú-a-ia* and in 347:1 — ŠU.NIGIN 31 UDU(há).

Special mention must be made of the instances where they figure as SÍG.UDU (fleecy, not yet shorn sheep), 10:4 — 1 ME SÍG.UDU(há), 98f and 411:2.

In respect of wool yield, a highly important text is the 361:1 — 7 (Level IV!) — 8 *kà-ak-kà-ru* 1 *li-im* 8 *me-at* | *ša* 3 *me-at* 8 UDU.SÍG(há) // SÍG(meš) | *ša* (I)*Ki-pu-ug-ga* | *ib-qú-nu* | 2 *li-im* 8 *me-at* | // SÍG(meš) | *la* TA.AM MUN; thus they obtained 0,93 kg of wool per sheep by one shearing, about 8% of which was unfit for further processing.

1.4.2.2. *puhādum* (SILA₄)³³: they used lambs for offering. With the act 456:41 — 42 — *ki-ša-ad* 1 SILA₄! | *it-bu-uh* they confirmed the *Abba-il* and *Iarim-Lim* contract, and with the 54:16 — 18 — GÚ SILA₄ *a-sa-ki* | IGI *Ni-iq-mi-e-pu-uh* UGULA UKU.UŠ | *ta-bi-ih*³⁴ lines they sanctioned contracts of sale and purchase. They figure as sacrificial animals also in 126:12.15.21.22. and 37.

1.4.2.3. *enzum* (ÛZ)³⁵: similarly to the lamb, also the goat is mentioned as a sacrificial animal in our texts 126:11 — 5 ÛZ(há), 126:15 — ÛZ(há) GIBIL (newborn³⁶), 126:19 — ÛZ(há) GIBIL, 126:35 — ÛZ(há).

1.4.3. Cattle

1.4.3.1. *alpum* (GU₄)³⁷: in our opinion this was utilized primarily as a draught animal, and was kept for getting the hide and the meat but secondarily. It was so much indispensable in agricultural work that several people joined to purchase cattle on credit, 32 : 1 — 12 GU₄(há) *i-na mu-uh-hi* | (I)*Eh-li-[a-du?]*x | (I)*Ki-iz-zi* | (I)*Ha-li-a-du* | 5 | (I)*Ba-al-du-uh-ka* | (I)*Ab-di-ta* | (I)*Be-ni-ta-ri* | DUMU(meš) *Ša-a*³⁸ | *a-di* GU₄(há) | 10 | *i-ip-pá-lu* | ERUM *ša* *Ia-ri-im-li-im* | IGI *A-bi-da-ba* | IGI *Eh-li*-(d)IŠTAR | IGI *Ir-pa*-(d)IM | 15 | IGI *Bi-en-di-à-lí* | [IGI *A*]m-

-[mi-t]a-kum | (about 2 lines are broken off). Until the price of cattle bought on credit was paid off, they had to render service to *Iarim-Lim*. Their feeding was mentioned in connection with the cereals (cf. 1.3.1.1., 1.3.3.2.). They were also grazed, cowherds are mentioned in 279:7 – (lú.meš)SÍB GU₄(há) and *kullizum* ((lú)ŠA.GU₄) in 252:14, 254:9, 258:10, 264:5, 265:21.

The age of the animals was carefully kept in evidence, of which a good example is 333:1–6 – 18 GU₄ um-mu | 8 GU₄ MU 1 NÍTA | 5 GU₄ MU 1 MÍ | ŠU.NIGIN 31! GU₄(há) | 5 | a-na qa-ti | (I)Ak-ki. i.e. Akki had 18 cows with calf, 8 one-year-old bull-calves, 5 one-year-old heifers, a total of 31 cattle. After the aforementioned revolt, *Ammitakum* distributed 320 confiscated cattle, 410:16 – 3 ME 20 GU₄(há). Also 10 cattle were involved in the dispute of *Nakkušše* and *Iarim-Lim* (9, 10 and 98f). 412:3 mentions 2 cattle as the property of a man named *Pakki*, and on one occasion they figure as portion in kind of the purchase price (78:7) 414:1 – 3 GU₄(há) is the gift of the *šangû*-priest. When *Ammitakum*'s daughter was married, 1 *manû* (505 g) silver was spent on buying cattle and sheep which then were distributed as gifts (411:1–2). According to 375:5–10 – 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR | GÌR Hi-ir-še | DUMU Wu-ul-lu-ra | a-na ŠAM GU₄ | ša Bi-ir-zi | a-na LUGAL.GAL the price of 1 cattle was 4 *šiglum* of silver (1 *šiglum* = 8,4 g).

1.4.3.2. GU₄ *nikrum*³⁹: according to 335, also non-domesticated cattle occurred in this region, and 17 of them were sent to the king.

1.4.3.3. GU₄ *zuzugannu*⁴⁰: 334:6 mentions two specimens of this variety not defined more accurately.

1.4.3.4. *pūrum* (AMAR)⁴¹: young cattle is enumerated in 334:1–8 – 25 GU₄ U.TU | 7 AMAR.GA.NÍTA | 3 AMAR.GA.MÍ | 3 AMAR MU 1 MÍ | 2 AMAR MU 1 NÍTA | 2 GU₄ zu-zu-ga-an-nu | ŠU.NIGIN 42! GU₄(há)|qa-ti-šu Ku-u-zi UZÚ, i.e. *Kuzi*, the *bārûm*-priest had 25 newborn calves, 7 suckling bull-calves, 3 suckling heifers, 3 one-year-old heifers, 2 one-year-old bull-calves, 2 *zuzugannu*-cattle, which is a total of 42! cattle.

1.4.3.5. *gumāhum* (GU₄.MAH)⁴²: there is only one reference to a fatted ox, 267:18 – 2 <PA ZI.AŠ> ŠĀ.GAL GU₄.MAH it was presumably fattened for sacrificial purposes.

1.4.4. Gazelles

1.4.4.1. *šabitum* (MAŠ)⁴³: under 1.3.1.1. we have mentioned the two instances referring to the gazelle. This animal species was among the earliest domestications, but in the period of the survey it was pushed in the background by the more versatile cattle, sheep and goat.

1.4.5. The horse

1.4.5.1. *sīsum* (ANŠE.KUR.RA)⁴⁴: except for one datum (54:8—1 horse as the portion in kind of the price) we have given the data on all horses in connection with foraging (cf. 1.3.1.1., 1.3.1.2., 1.3.3.2.); here we arrange them only according to who kept horses:

- a. GĪR *Abidaba*: 269:45
- b. *Ammurapi*: 255:14—15
- c. the *amurrū*-people: 246:20.27.34.36; 251:18.30; 253:9; 267:16; 269:49.71; 281:7—8
- d. *Ammuwa*: 253:22; 256:20
- e. *Iatereda*: 260:4—6
- f. *Irpa*-(d)IŠKUR: 256:10.28
- g. LUGAL: 240:16; 245:6.15—16
- h. LÚ (uru)*Gurnabit*: 269:62
- i. LÚ *la Bitin*(ki): 259:3—4.5.8—9
- j. *Nunigiašu*: 248:7; 249:5.10; 253:23—24; 254:14; 255:12—13
- k. SUKKAL LUGAL.GAL: 269:48.70
- l. *Werikiba* SUKKAL: 240:18—19

The quantity of the distributed fodder warrants the conclusion that only the fodder distributed to *Nunigiašu* and *Ammuwa* served for feeding a larger number of horses, of a stud-farm. The other cases must have been *ad hoc* provisions on the occasion of a travel. *Nunigiašu* and *Ammuwa* must have been the overseer of the royal stud-farm, 283:15—16 — ŠU.NIGIN 3 *pa-ri-si* MUN | *a-na* (lú.meš)ŠĪB *ša Nu-ni-gi-ia-šu*.

We have two data on the utilization of horses, both are connected with travel (transport), 283:23 — 2 (PA ŠE) ANŠE.KUR.RA *ana!* URU! *i-li-ku* and 256:26 — 3 (PA ŠE) ŠĀ.GAL ANŠE.KUR.RA *ša i-na* (uru) *Na-x-we i-li-ku*.

In addition to this, a small number of horses were used for drawing the war chariots (*narkabtum*-(giš)GIGIR) that appeared sporadically at that time (205:27.28; 206:1.4.6.).

1.4.5.2. ANŠE.KUR.RA *paziri*⁴⁵: is documented on one occasion in the texts of Level VII, 253:11 — 28 (PA ŠE) ŠĀ.GAL ANŠE.KUR.RA *pa-zi-ri*.

1.4.6. Donkeys

1.4.6.1. *imērum* (ANŠE)⁴⁶: also the donkeys figure only on the ration lists, the instances connected with their feeding have been presented (cf. 1.3.1.1., 1.3.3.2.). According to our data, donkeys were kept by the following:

- a. *Abba*: 269:78
- b. DUMU *Anišu*: 269:58
- c. (uru)*Emar*: 254:12

d. LUGAL: 265:20.32

e. LUGAL (uru)*Naštarwe*: 269:51.69

f. LÚ *la Bitin*(ki): 259:10

They were important pack- and saddle-animals, but these data cannot give exact information on their number partly because they do not require special feeding.

1.4.7. Camels

1.4.7.1. *gammalum* (ANŠE.GAM.MAL)⁴⁷: 269:59 — 1 (PA ŠE) ŠĀ.GAL ANŠE.GAM.MAL is a highly valuable instance in connection with camel domestication because it was spreading in larger masses only at the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C.

2. HOME CRAFTS

Under this heading we discuss data connected with "craft" activities such as brewing, viticulture, oil-milling, tallow-making, tanning, wool preparation. These activities are closely connected with agriculture, it is the first processing step of agricultural products. Finished products are turned out in the first four cases (beer, wine, oil, tallow), while tanning and wool preparation produce raw material for the handicraft.

The names of these activities as occupations are not preserved by the *Alalah* sources, we only have two data on the innkeeper, i.e. the occupation that marketed in commercial ways the products of the first two activities, 30:1 — (I)Še-en-nu (lú)TIN and 268:16 — 16 (PA ZÍZ.AN. NA) *Ta-ah-e* (lú)TIN.

2.1. Brewing⁴⁸

When we enumerated the sorts of cereals, we have indicated the instances from which it can be concluded that beer was made in *Alalah* from *kunāšum* for the most part, and from *še'um* on one occasion. Our texts distinguish 3 sorts of beer produced in *Alalah* of the dozen of sorts known in the Ancient East: *šikarum* (KAŠ), *šikar šarrim* (KAŠ.LUGAL) and *billatum* (KAŠ.Ú.SA)⁴⁹.

The town of *Kubia* must have held an outstanding position in brewing (324b:7–9 — ŠU.NIGIN 72 GÍN KÛ.BABBAR | *a-na* 72 DUG KAŠ.LUGAL | *a-na* (uru)*Ku-bi-e*(ki)), where one could get a loan also on beer (34:1–6 — 70 GÍN KÛ.BABBAR | KI *Su-mu-un-na-bi* | LÚ(meš) (uru)*Ku-bi-ia* | ŠU.BA.AN.TI | 5 | *a-na* 70 DUG KAŠ.LUGAL | *uṣ-ṣa-ab*). In addition to *Kubia*, the town of *Irta* must be mentioned in connection with brewing, 269:27 — 1 *me-at* (PA ZÍZ) *ši-im* KAŠ.LUGAL *i-na* (uru) *Ir-ta*(ki) *ub-lu-nim*. This town was documented in connection with beer also in the age of the Level IV (328:3–4 — ... KAŠ(há) | (uru)*Ir-ta*).

2.2. Viticulture

Wine figures in the texts of Level VII on three occasions (*karānum* — GEŠTIN), in contracts of sale as the portion in kind of the price, 52:11 — 6 (dug)ku-tim(há) GEŠTIN, 56:16 — 24 (dug)ku-ut-ti GEŠTIN, and 57:31 — 10 DUG! GEŠTIN.

2.3. Oil milling

It seems probable that the oil mills were erected at the growth site of the olive trees, and the oil was taken to the central stores. We have mentioned that the centre of this tree cultivation was the town of *Murar*. The oil obtained was taken to the stores also from *Murar*, 320:1 — 3 — 57 *ab-nim* Ī.GIŠ | *iš-tu* (uru) *Mu-ra-ar*(ki) | *šu-lu-ú*; 321:1 — 4 — 183 *ab-nim* Ī.GIŠ KL.MIN | *ša Ki-ma-zi* (lú)ŠAMÁN.LÁ | *iš-tu* (uru) *Mu-ra-ar*(ki) | *ú-še-lu-ú*. It is not by chance that the inhabitants and elders of *Murar* were given large quantities of oil as allowance, 322:1 — 11 — 2 *li-im* 7 ME 1 *šu-ši* | 8 DUG(há) Ī.GIŠ | ŠE.BA (uru) *Mu-ra-ar*(ki) | UGU (lú.meš)ŠU.GI₄.A | 5 | *qa-ti* ŠU.TLA | (I) *Ni-ig-ma* | (I) *Li-ma-a-du* | (I) *Ni-nu-me-ni* | *ú Ku-mi-da-ar-ru* | 10 | *i-na* ŠU.NIGIN 1 *šu-ši* 8 DUG(há) | Ī.GIŠ TIL. Also the inhabitants of the town of *Alama* got 50 vessels of oil (319).

Oil figures almost invariably in contracts of sales as the portion of the price, 52:12 — 10 DUG(há) Ī.GIŠ, 54:10 — 3 DUG Ī.GIŠ, 56:16 — 7 DUG Ī.GIŠ, 56:32 — 9 DUG Ī.GIŠ, 56:33 — 1 DUG Ī.DU₁₀.GA (*šamnu tābu* it was smeared on the body after bathing, among others⁵⁰), 57:32 — 1 (na)DUG Ī, 59:7 — $\frac{1}{2}$ DUG Ī.GIŠ, 61:7 — 1 DUG Ī.GIŠ.

According to 126:12 — 14 — 12 (dug)hu-up-ru-uš-hi | 1(?) ME (dug)ah-ru-uš-hi | *ša* Ī.GIŠ *ù* Ī.ŠAH ma-(ú)-lu-ú they offered oil and fats. We know two persons by name who offered oil in sacrifice, 57:44 — [IGI (I)]Wa-ri-mu-sa *ša* Ī.GIŠ *iq-q[ú]-ú* and 60:8 — 9 — [...] UGULA ERÍN Bi-en-tam-mu-šu-ni-e | [*ša*] Ī.GIŠ *iq-qú-ú*.

2.4. The making of tallow and fats

2.4.1. *lipám* (Ī.UDU)⁵¹: we have one datum indicating that sheep fats and tallow were purchased from a man of *Halab*, 373:18 — 19 — 18 GÍN <KŪ.BABBAR> *ši-im* Ī.UDU(há) | *a-na* LÚ (uru) *Ha-la-ab*(ki).

2.4.2. *nāhum* (Ī.ŠAH)⁵²: we presented the lines of 126:12 — 14 under 2.3., they used it as an offering.

2.5. Wool preparation

We have mentioned in connection with sheep-breeding the first phase of wool preparation, i.e. shearing. In the lines 56:30 — 31 *Irpa-Addu* provided *Labbina* with a life-annuity of 10 *manú* plucked (*baqmu*⁵³) and

20 *manû* shorn (*gazzu*⁵⁴) wool per annum. The documents found at *Nuzi* show that the wool of sheep was plucked, that of the goats shorn⁵⁵. Wool went into trade in the unprocessed state. This is indicated by text 358 according to which *Hušubšuli* (merchant?) gave 300 units (talent?) of wool to the overseer *Akeda*, 200 units to the overseer *Idma* (both were living in the town of *Arazik*⁵⁶), and 300 units to a man from *Ugarit* named *Puruqqa*. Text 360 reports that the websters gave 260 units of wool to the woman *Ilunnabi* (360:1–5 – 80 SÍG *ša Na-di-na UŠ.BAR* | 80 SÍG *ša Ta-ki-iš-tar* | 1 ME SÍG *ša Ú-uš-še* | *a-[na q]a-ti* | 5 | (mí)*Il-un-na-bi*), but, unfortunately, it is not known for what purpose.

We have only one reference to spinning, 266:r.4–6–6 (giš)*pa-ri-si ZÍZ* | (mí.meš)*te₄-mi-tum* | *pi-la-ku-hu-li*⁵⁷ mentions the ration of women spinning with the spindle. In addition to *baqmu* and *gazzu*, *hidaru*⁵⁸ is mentioned as a sort of wool, 359:1–5 – 68 SÍG *hi-da-ru* | *a-na N[a]-di-na* | 68 *a-[na] Ta-ki-iš-tar* | 68 *a-[na] A!-ri-ia* | 5 | 80 *a-na Ú-uš-še*.

2.6. Hide processing

Two data are available indicating that the royal household purchased hides, presumably tanned hides, 269:22 – $1\frac{1}{3}$ <PA *ZÍZ*> *a-na mi-is-si*⁵⁹

DUMU(meš) LUGAL GÍR (lú.meš)*ha-še-ru-hu-li*⁶⁰ and 269:54 – 5 <PA ŠE> GÍR (lú.meš)AŠGAB *ša KUŠ*.

3. HANDICRAFTS

3.1. Wood – working

3.1.1. building: on the basis of 269:13 – 3 <PA *ZÍZ*> GÍR (lú.meš)NAGAR *ša É.GAL i-ba-an-nu-ú* we know that also carpenters⁶¹ (246:16.31, 269:2.5.8, 270:24) were employed at the construction of the palace.

3.1.2. furniture-making⁶² 372:7–9 – 1 ME 84 <GÍN> KÚ.BABBAR | *a-na* (giš)*pa-aš-šu-r[i]* | *na-ad-ni*, 184 *šiqlum* of silver were paid for one table⁶³.

3.1.3. making of arms: certain parts of the bow were made of wood. Texts 203–206 inform us about the distribution of bows and arrows. According to text 203, *Abbienni* distributed 17 bows (*qaštum* – (giš)BAN⁶⁴). Most people got one bow, including *Arip[šaušga?]*, the barber, *Ahe*, the singer and two bakers. Text 204 reports on the distribution of 19 bows, text 206 on 8 bows. Text 205 is fragmentary, the number of distributed bows cannot be determined.

3.1.4. coach-building:⁶⁵ only indirect data are available on coach-building. Bows and arrows were distributed in the above-cited texts to men who owned coaches or fought on chariots, 205:28 – 1 <(giš)BAN> 5 (giš)GI DUMU *Eh-li-a-du LÚ* (giš)GIGIR, 205:27 – 1 <(giš)BAN> *Eh-li-a-du LÚ*

(giš) GIGIR, 206:1 — (giš)BAN *a-na Ak-ka-di* LÚ (giš)GIGIR, 206:4 — 1 <(giš)BAN> 5 (giš)GI *Tu-ul-pi* DUMU *Lu-pu ša* (giš) GIGIR, 206:6 — *ha-ša-an-ni-ba-aš-ha* LÚ (giš)GIGIR.

3.1.4. shipbuilding:⁶⁶ on the basis of available data it seems not probable that ships should have been built in *Alalah* where no suitable timber was available. It seems that shipping on the Orontes was carried out not with their own ships and boatmen. In connection with boatmen our texts speak not of allowances, but of wages (cf. 4.4.3.).

3.1.5. making of *kātum*-vessels:⁶⁷ the *kātum*-vessels made of wood were used for keeping wine (cf. 2.2.).

3.2. Reed processing

3.2.1. basket-weaving: we have one reference to baskets made of reed, according to which, 269:23 — 10 (PA ZÍZ) *ši-im* (gi)PISAN.GAL.GAL⁶⁸ the royal estate purchased these baskets.

3.2.2. making of arms: arrows were made of reed (*qanû*-(giš)GI), their distribution is reported in texts 203 — 206. The arrows were made by the *epiš qanāte*⁶⁹ (238:36).

3.3. Weaving, tailoring, sewing

3.3.1. weaving: despite of the fact that the best-documented occupation in the tablets of Level VII is that of the websters (*išparum* — (lú)UŠ.BAR⁷⁰, 19:5, 20:4, 21:3, 37:13, 238:2.20.33, 241:7, 243:3, 247:9, 251:12, 254:4, 267:4, 258:17.29, 261:3, 264:2, 265:6 UGULA (lú.meš)UŠ.BAR, 265:14, 269:21 UGULA (lú.meš)UŠ.BAR, 272:2, 274:10.16, 276:6, 277:9, 283b:4, 360:1, 383:3; (lú)māhišum⁷¹, 253:5, 256:19, 258:7, 268:10), we hardly find any reference to cloth.

3.3.1.1. *pusikkum* (GIŠ.Ì)⁷²: this type of cloth is documented in 357:1 — 10 GIŠ.Ì(há) and in 357:3 — 5 GIŠ.Ì(há).

3.3.2. tailoring-sewing: several clothes products of the tailors are mentioned in the *Alalah* texts

3.3.2.1. *maklalu* (?)⁷³: we have only one reference, perhaps our restoration is suitable, 409:5 — 1 (túg)ma-ak-[la-lu(?)...].

3.3.2.2. *nahlaptum* ((túg)GÚ.È, (túg)GÚ.È.A)⁷⁴: this term, denoting the shirt or the cloak, is documented on five occasions. In two cases as the portion in kind of the purchase price, 54:9 — 2 (túg)GÚ.È.A⁷⁵ and 56:18 — 3 (túg)GÚ.È.A. In the rest of the cases its function is that of a present, 409:24 — 1 (túg)GÚ.È.A, 409:42 — 3 (túg)GÚ.È.A and 414:3 — (túg)GÚ.È.

3.3.2.3. *parsiqum* ((túg)BAR.SIG)⁷⁶: the turban is mentioned in two instances, once as the portion in kind of the purchase price, 56:17 — 1 (túg)BAR.SIG, in the other case as a present, 411:19 — 1 (túg)par-si-iq.

We knew the occupational term of the turban maker, too, 236:18 — *a-na ku-ub-šu!-hu!-li*⁷⁷.

3.3.2.4. *pusikku pahuzu*⁷⁸: it is documented in 375:5 — 20 GIŠ.Ī *pa-hu-zu* and 357:10 — 25 GIŠ.Ī *pa-hu-zu*.

3.3.2.5. *sarballum*^{78a}: this article of clothing appears as a supplement to the purchase price, 56:18 — 2 *sar-ba-al-li*.

3.3.2.6. *subātum* (TÚG)⁷⁹: this is documented several times as a price supplement and a present, 54:8 — 2 TÚG!, 56:17 — 7 TÚG(há), 58:7 — 1 TÚG, 61:7 — 3 TÚG(há), 62:9 — 1 TÚG, 78:7 — 1 TÚG; it was distributed upon the wedding of *Ammitakum*, 409:42 — 6 TÚG(há), and on the occasion of another wedding, 411:15 — [x] TÚG(há). It also figured on the list of presents of the *šangû*-priest, 414:2 — 2 TÚG(há). Lines 412:3.5. enumerate each one dress as a personal belonging, and items of 10, 5, 7 pieces dominate in the lines 357:1.3.5.7.9.

3.3.2.7. *šapiltum* (ŠĀ.GA.DÛ)⁸⁰: this underwear figures as a price supplement and presents, 54:8 — 1 ŠĀ.(GA).DÛ, 56: 17 — 3 (giš)ŠĀ.GA.[DÛ], 409:42 — 3 (túg)ŠĀ.GA!.DÛ and 414:2 — 3 ŠĀ.GA!.DÛ⁸¹.

3.4. Leather working

Articles made of leather are hardly documented in the *Alalah* texts despite the fact that there are several references to the makers of such articles (*aškapum* — (lú) AŠGAB⁸², 269:12.54, 272:5, 278:3).

3.4.1. making of footgear⁸³

3.4.1.1. *šenum* ((kuš)E.SÍR)⁸⁴: we have two data on sandals, they figure as supplements to the purchase price in both cases, 56:18 — 2 (kuš)E. SÍR, 62:10 — 1 (kuš)E.SÍR.

3.5. Clay working

3.5.1. pottery: the most important storage vessels, earthen vessels were produced in large quantities in the Ancient East. Ranging from grain, beer to oil, everything was kept in earthen vessels. Apart from the frequent documentation of such vessels, we have only one datum on a potter, 268:18 — 10 <PA ZÍZ.AN.NA> *Ba-le-ia* (lú)DUG.QA.RUR.⁸⁵ The findspots of *karpatum* (DUG⁸⁶) have been enumerated when we discussed oil-milling and brewing (cf. 2.1., 2.3.). The production of earthen vessels was closely connected with the agricultural activities in given regions. Among our data we find the largest number in connection with the town of *Murar* (322) which is explained by the large quantity of oil produced there.

3.6. Stone cutting

3.6.1. building: here we only have archeological data⁸⁷.

3.6.2. vessel-making: vessels made of stone⁸⁸ were used for keeping oil and honey, 57:32 — 1 *ab-nu* LĀL, 57:32 — 1 (na)DUG Ī and 321:1 — 1 ME 83 *ab-nim* Ī.GIS

3.7. Stone engraving

3.7.1. making of seals: seal impressions survived on the tablets⁸⁹, archeological finds⁹⁰, and the name of the occupation documented in the texts, *purgullum* ((lú)BUR.GUL⁹¹) are indicative of this handicraft working with semi-precious stones, 240:13, 243:16, 247:6.11, 252:10, 268:3.4, 274:3 and 373:25.

3.8. Ivory work

3.8.1. As concerns ivory work, we only have archeological data⁹², and one direct written reference, 366:16 — 30 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ši-in-nu*, 30 *šiqlum* of silver were paid for one tusk of elephant.

3.9. Metal working

3.9.1. smithcraft: in the texts found in level VII of *Alalah*, *nappahum* ((lú)SIMUG⁹³) occurs on two occasions. On of the blacksmiths worked in the royal household and presumably supervised several other blacksmiths, 376:1 — 6 GÍN (KÙ.BABBAR) GĪR *A-bi-a-du* (lú)SIMUG.E. The other appears in a contract of sale, represented by his wife, 63:3 — 4 — (mí)Ū-ru-ba-al-tum | DAM *Du-ur-ú* (lú)SIMUG, who selling her vineyard. They made tools and arms.

3.9.2. goldsmith's and silversmith's craft the pursuers of this trade are represented in *Alalah* by only one reference, according to 348:4 — 1 UDU *Ab-na-AN* (lú)KÙ.DIM, the *kutimmum*⁹⁴ got one sheep. Vessels made of non-ferrous and noble metals occur in the texts in great numbers.

3.9.3. The metals used in *Alalah* and the products made of them:

3.9.3.1. *abārum*: lead⁹⁵. Lead was poured into the mouth of those who committed a breach of contract, 8:32 — *a-[b]a-ra-am a-na pí-i-š[u...]*, 61:18 — *ù pí-šu a-ba-[ra-am]*, 95:r6 — *ù! a-ba-ra-am a-na pí-i-šu i-ša-ap-na!-ku*, 96:4 — 5 — *ù ma-la tup-pí a-ba-ra-am | a-na pí-[i]-šu ša-ap-pa-ku*.

Lead is mentioned in the unprocessed state on one occasion, 414:10 — 3 $\frac{1}{2}$

GÍN *a-bár-a*, 3,5 *šiqlum* of lead were distributed.

3.9.3.2. *anākum* (AN.NA⁹⁶): tin, zinc. A *šangû*-priest distributed 3,5 *šiglum* in the unprocessed state, 414:8 – $3\frac{1}{2}$ GÍN AN.NA.

3.9.3.3. *erûm* (URUDU⁹⁷): copper. The *šangû*-priest distributed 3,5 *šiglum* in the crude state, 414:9 – $3\frac{1}{2}$ GÍN URUDU. Arms were made of it, 410:12 – 5 (giš)ŠUKUR⁹⁸ URUDU, *Ammitakum* seized them from the revolting men. 413:17 – 1 *ru-uq-û*⁹⁹ URUDU mentions a copper button (as a costume jewelry) in one case.

3.9.3.4. *hurāšum* (GUŠKIN¹⁰⁰): gold. Substantially fewer commodities were made of gold than of silver.

edum (bracelet¹⁰¹): 413:4 – 1 *e-dum ša* GUŠKIN,

ikladum (?): 414:3 – *ik-i-la-[du] ša* GUŠKIN,

harīnatum (?): 413:1 – 52 *ha-ri-na-te ša* GUŠ[KIN],

tukiltum (?): 411:8 – *tu-ki-it-tum* GUŠKIN,

zamdum (sheath¹⁰²): 409:3.43 – 1 GÍR *ša* GUŠKIN *za-am-du*. (409: *Ammitakum*'s wedding with the daughter of the ruler of the town of *Apišal*; 411: represents for the wedding of the daughter of *Ammitakum*; 413: a list of *Nergal*'s treasures; 414: the presents of the *šangû*-priest)

3.9.3.5. *kaspum* (KÛ.BABBAR¹⁰³): silver.

hullum (ring, ornament¹⁰⁴): 414:3 – 3 *hu-ul-li* KÛ.BABBAR,

iṣabtum (ear-ring¹⁰⁵): 411:4 – 30 GÍN (KÛ.BABBAR) *a-na in-ša-ab-tu*,

paṭrum (GÍR, dagger¹⁰⁶): 432:13 – 2 GÍR, presumably they were decorated with silver,

rabūm (GAL, type of vessel¹⁰⁷): 127:5 – 1 GAL 40 GÍN KI.LAL.BI, 127:6 – 1 GAL [x] GÍN KI.LAL.BI, 369:4–5 – 2 GAL(há) KÛ.BAB-

BAR | 1 *šu-ši* (GÍN) KI.LAL.BI, 378:18–19 – ŠU.NIGIN 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ GÍN

KÛ.BABBAR | *ša* ZI.GA GAL(há), 409:1 – 1 GAL KÛ. BABBAR

1 *me-at ša* KI.LAL.BI, 409:2 – 1 GAL KÛ.BABBAR $\frac{2}{3}$ *ma-na* KI.LAL.

BI, 409:5 – 1 GAL KÛ.BABBAR $\frac{2}{3}$ *ma-na* KI.LAL.BI, 409:7 – 1 GAL

[KÛ.]BABBAR $\frac{2}{3}$ *ma-na* KI.LAL.BI, 409:9–19 – 1 GAL KÛ. BABBAR

$\frac{1}{2}$ *ma-na* KI.LAL.BI per line (partially fragmentary), 412:1 – 1 GAL

KÛ.BABBAR, 413:6 – 2 GAL [...] *ša* KÛ.BABBAR, 413:13 – 6 GAL KÛ.BABBAR.

GAL *babaššare* (type of vessel¹⁰⁸): 366:2 – 4 GAL KÛ.BABBAR *ba-ba aš-šar-ri-e*, 366:5.8. – one piece each,

GAL *kukkallu* (type of vessel): 366:4 — 1 GAL KÛ.BABBAR *ku-uk-ka-al-li*,

GAL *tišnu* (type of vessel): 127:1 — 4 GAL(há) *ti-iš-nu ša KÛ.BABBAR* | 4 *me-tim K.ILAL.BI*, 366:1 — 2 GAL KÛ.BABBAR *ti-iš-nu*, 432:15 — 3 *ti-iš-nu ša Ī.GIŠ*.

GAL *šannu* (type of vessel): 366:3 — 2 GAL KÛ.BABBAR *ša-an-nu*, *šemerum* (ring¹⁰⁹): 414:4 — 3 *še-me-ir KÛ.BABBAR*, *šeribu* (?): 413:8 — 1 *še-ri-bu ša KÛ.BABBAR*.

Text 432 enumerates 27 sorts of objects with Hurrian names whose total weight was 3000 *šiqlum* of silver (432:20).

3.9.3.6. *parzillum* (AN.BAR¹¹⁰): iron. Text 410 tells of a rebellion against *Ammitakum*. The text enumerates the confiscated weapons, including 3 (giš)ŠUKUR ZABAR (line 11), 5 (giš)ŠUKUR URUDU (line 12), line 13 of the text whows 400 (giš)ŠUKUR, but the indication of the material is fragmentary, the initials of the signe AN appear in the autograph. The completion to AN.BAR would seem obvious, although in this case we would have a very early reference to use of iron (non-meteorite iron, of course).

3.9.3.7. *siparrum* (ZABAR¹¹¹): bronze.

edum (bracelet): 410:9 — 2 *e-dum U[D.KA.]BAR* (= ZABAR), 413:15 — 6 *e-dum ZABAR*.

habšum (type of vessel¹¹²): 413:10 — 13 *ha-ab-šum ZABAR*,

halhallatum (drum¹¹³): 413:16 — 1 *hal-hal-la-tum ZABAR*,

huprušku (base of a vessel¹¹⁴): 413:19 — 1 *hu-up-ru-uš-hi ZABAR*,

patrum (dagger): 54:10 — 1 *pa-tar ZABAR*, 410:10 — 3 GÍR ZABAR,

šukurru (ŠUKUR, weapon): 55:8 — ERÍN(meš) (giš)ŠUKUR ZABAR,

54:9 — 1 ŠUKUR ZABAR, 410:11 — 3 (giš)ŠUKUR ZABAR, 413:18 — 24 ŠUKUR ZABAR.

It is not possible to decide on the basis of our data whether extraction of metal was practised in the *Alalah* region. It seems probable that the metals required for processing were obtained in commercial ways from Anatolia and Cyprus.

4. TRADE

4.1. Means of payment

The society of *Alalah* VII had passed the stage of barter and money played an important role. Accumulated money, i.e. capital, was regarded equivalent to landed property. This is convincingly evidenced by the penal clause of text 56:35—42 — *šum-ma (I)Ir-pa-(d)IM ib-ba-la-ak-ka-at* | 1 *ri-ib-ba-at KÛ.BABBAR a-na É.GAL-lim Ī.LAL.E* | *i-na KÛ.BABBAR-šu i-il-li ù i-mi-it-ta-šu* | *in-na-{ZA}-as-sà-ah* | *ù šum-ma (I)[La-ab-bi-na ib-ba]-la-ak-ka-at* | 40 | 1 *ri-ib-ba-at K[Û.BABBAR a-na É.GAL-lim Ī.]LAL.E* | *i-na e-pi-ri-šu el-li! ù! i-[mi-it-ta-šu]* | *in-na-{ZA}-as-sà-ah*. This penal clause draws a parallel between the concepts *kaspum* and

epirum. Silver means money, *epirum* means landed property, a plot of land¹¹⁵. Thus the loss of money or land was regarded as the same punishment. The importance of money, its nature as a universal means of payment, is indicated by the large number of loan transactions. It can be established from the texts that the sums of loans varied between 3 *šiqlum* (36:1) and 135 *šiqlum* (33:1). Besides *Ammitakum*, *Talma-ammu* an influential man of court (texts 35–37), *Sumunnabi* (text 33–34), *Aramu-šuni* (39) and *Irpa-Addu* the overseer of the merchants (41) were engaged in granting loans. Considerable wealth in money was accumulated, and records of lawsuits mention properties in the 5000 *šiqlum* (8) and 7000 *šiqlum* (455) order of magnitude.

The basis of money circulation was silver. As a means of payment gold only figures in the penal clauses of contracts of sales (52:19–20, 53:r3, 54:20–21, 55:27, 61:16). In one case (414:7) gold is mentioned as a gift.

Needless to say, money did not supersede the direct barter of goods, moreover a mixed method of payment developed and cereals, animals and textiles figured in contracts of sale in addition of (silver) money a portion in kind of prices. Money was an important catalyzer, was used as a means of economic control. The manpower shortage of the royal household which resulted from the vital development of textile processing was reduced through money loans and the debtor worked off his debt in the royal household. It was particularly the websters that took loans in most cases in the age of *Ammitakum* (19, 20, 21, 37).

4.2. Home trade

The economy of *Alalah* was basically a two-sector economy¹¹⁶. One sector was the royal, the other the totality of isolated private economic units. Both sectors were self-supporting in respect of food production, and the royal household had reserves and surplus products which could be realized as commodities (grain loans). In our opinion the basis of the *Alalahian* royal household was the breeding of sheep and textile processing based on it. This economic branch was presumably also the basis of trade. Unfortunately very few data are available to determine the nature of the domestic market, the commodities on it. The buyers on the home market were the artisans and the people living on wages (boatsmen and sailors for the most part). The commodities purchased by the royal household and indicated earlier were not of a such a nature as could not have been produced there (beer, sheep, fowl, hide, etc.). Based on available data the prices were as follows:

1 <i>parīsu</i> ZÍZ	–	$\frac{1}{2}$ <i>šiqlum</i> KÛ.BABBAR (324b),
1 DUG KAŠ.LUGAL	–	1 <i>šiqlum</i> KÛ.BABBAR (34, 324b),

1 MUŠEN — $\frac{1}{10}$ šiglum KÛ.BABBAR (269:16),

1 GU₄ — 4 šiglum KÛ.BABBAR (375:5–10).

Although there are several contracts of sale, it is not possible to determine the price of land. Prices must have been somewhere 20 and 3000 šiglum. The price of houses was 40 and 400 šiglum ((59:6, 60:5).

4.3. Foreign trade

The royal estate maintained important business relations with the surrounding states. 28 000 sheep were brought from *Kargamiš* (349), wool was transported to *Ugarit* and *Arazik* (358). The town of *Alalah*

was regularly visited by merchants from *Tunip* and *Alašia* (*Tunip*: 252:17, 253:27, 269:29, 276:7, 280:4–6; *Alašia*: 269:33). The foreign trade of *Alalah* was built on the sheep and wool base.

4.4.1. *tamkarum*¹¹⁷: from the Level VII of *Alalah* we only know two merchants, or, more precisely, one merchant dynasty, *Irpā-Addu*, and *Šamši-Addu*. Both were overseers of the merchants (UGULA DAM. QAR(meš), 7: seal C, 57:3, 77:17). They had land of their own which indicates that they applied their trade capital for buying land,

4.4.2. *šamallum*¹¹⁸: the plots and units of the royal estate of *Alalah* were scattered, not forming one plot, and the 'trade' between units at shorter or longer distances from one another was transacted by agents ((lú) SAMĀN.LÁ, 269: 27, 52.53.74.75, 321:2).

4.4.3. *masūm*¹¹⁹: sailors and boatmen. Even if they were not merchants in the strict sense, carried not their own goods and worked for wages, they played an important role in trade. They maintained contracts between *Alalah* and al-Mina, the seaport of the town, and with *Qatna* (246:6.13, 259:15, 265:7, 268:14, 269:18.19.).

NOTES

¹ Works published up to 1964 are presented here according to the abbreviations used in R. Borger: *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur I*, Berlin, 1967. — Numbering of quoted *Alalahian* texts follows the D. J. Wiseman: AT publication, and the symbol* standing before the serial numbers and used by D. J. Wiseman for marking the texts found in Level VII is omitted. — Further text publications: D. J. Wiseman in JCS 8 (1954), pp. 1–30, JCS 12 (1958), pp. 124–129, JCS 13 (1959), pp. 19–33.

² D. J. Wiseman AT p. 48, '1 weight (? *aban* LĀL); CAD A/1 p. 61, 'referring to a stone container'; in this case this is not a unit of measure, but a vessel. A. Salonen: *Die Hausgeräte der alten Mesopotamier II* (HAM II), AASF B 144, Helsinki 1966, pp. 304–305, 'Steingefäß, Steinschale für Öl und Honig'.

³ G. Giacomakis: *The Akkadian of Alalah*, (Akk. Al.) The Hague 1970, p. 71, according to his opinion *dišpu-LĀL* occurs in 126:14. D. J. Wiseman AT p. 63, the lines 126: 13–14 are read as follows: '1 (ME) DUK. GAL 300 DUK. *uh-ru-uš-hi* | *šamni* *ū* BUR₅ *ku-ū-lu-ū*'. For the reading of these two lines we accept the interpretation of A. Salonen: HAM II p. 94, '100 DUK. GAL 300 (DUK) *ah-ru-ūš-hi* *ša* 1₃ u₃ 1₃. ŠAH *ma-«u»lu-u₃*; AHw p. 173; CAD D pp. 161–163.

- ⁴ AHW p. 883; M. L. Heltzer, VDI 1 / 1956 p. 16, note 1., '1 *parīsu* (PA) — 8 litres (?)'.
- ⁵ AHW p. 385, *īpru(m)* 'Gerstenration, Verpflegung'; CAD I/J p. 166.
- ⁶ G. Giacomakis: Akk. Al. p. 75, 'administrative official, overseer'; J. Bottéro: ARMT 7, 237, 'contrôleur'.
- ⁷ CAD S p. 67, 'stalker, stalkin (hunter)'; G. Giacomakis: Akk. Al. p. 100, 'hunter'.
- ⁸ A. Salonen: Die Fischerei im alten Mesopotamien, AASF B 166 (Fischerei), Helsinki 1970, pp. 34–37.
- ⁹ A. Salonen: Fischerei p. 38, 'Fischereiaufseher'; pp. 74–75 'string of fish'.
- ¹⁰ A. Goetze: JCS 13 (1959), p. 35; G. Giacomakis: Akk. Al. p. 96, 'reed-man'.
- ¹¹ AHW p. 237, 'Zedern'; CAD E pp. 274–279, 'cedar'; for one field of use cf. A. Salonen: Türen, pp. 97–98.
- ¹² AHW p. 94, 'babbilu(m) Kornträger', perhaps a concept completed with GIŠ, meaning wood carrier; CAD B pp. 8–9, 'bearer (as agricultural worker), tenant, farmer'.
- ¹³ AHW p. 287, 'gibillu' Kienspan'; CAD G p. 65, 'reed or wood for kindling'; A. Goetze: JCS 13 (1959) p. 35, 'firewood'.
- ¹⁴ Cf. B. Hrozný: Getreide; RLA III pp. 308–318.
- ¹⁵ RLA III p. 310, 'Gerste oder auch allgemein Getreide'.
- ¹⁶ B. Hrozný: Getreide p. 68, 'Emmermehl'; AHW.
- ¹⁷ CAD Z p. 89, 'seed (of cereals and of other plants)'.
- ¹⁸ B. Hrozný: Getreide p. 60, 'Emmer'; HAW p. 506, 'Emmer'; RLA III p. 309; ZÍZ. AN. NA (240: 7, 245: 10, 271: 2), N. Hrozný: Getreide p. 63, 'enthülster Emmer'; D. J. Wiseman, AT p. 164, 'husked emmer'.
- ¹⁹ AHW p. 345, 'ein Gemüse'; CAD H p. 186, 'a vegetable, foodstuff'.
- ²⁰ AHW p. 422, 'eine kleine Erbsenart'; G. Giacomakis: Akk. Al. p. 81, 'pea, vegetable'.
- ²¹ AHW p. 379, 'Mastfutter'; CAD I/J p. 138, 'fodder'.
- ²² AHW p. 492, 'eine Hülsenfrucht, deren Mehl verbacken wird', he reads ZI.AŠ as *ze-rù*, 'Saatgut'; A. Goetze: JCS 13 (1959) p. 34, 'ZI.AŠ has been correctly identified as the ideogram for *kiššānu*'.
- ²³ CAD Z p. 104, 'black cumin (seed of the *Nigella sativa*)'.
- ²⁴ AHW pp. 446–447, 'Wein(rebe)'.
- ²⁵ AHW p. 370, 1 *ikū* — 3600 m².
- ²⁶ Ass. Hw. p. 511, 'eine Baum und dessen Holz'; G. Giacomakis: Akk. Al. p. 99, 'olive tree, orchard'.
- ²⁷ W. Helck: Beziehungen p. 144, a settlement at the border of *Ugarit* and *Alalah*; M. C. Astour: JNES 22 (1963), p. 255; H. Klengel: Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v.u.Z., Teil III, 1970, Berlin (GS III), p. 38.
- ²⁸ AHW p. 390, 'Vogel'; CAD I/J pp. 210–214, 'bird'.
- ²⁹ G. Giacomakis: Akk. Al. p. 110, 'goose'.
- ³⁰ AHW p. 378, 'Schaf, Widder'; CAD I/J pp. 129–134, 'sheep'.
- ³¹ H. Klengel: GS I, 1965, Berlin, p. 31, 30.000.
- ³² H. Klengel: GS I pp. 275–279; M. C. Astour: JNES 22 (1963), p. 227; a settlement near the Euphrates, at the same place as Meskeneh today.
- ³³ AHW p. 875, 'Lamm'.
- ³⁴ A. Draffkorn: JCS 13 (1959), p. 95, note 11.
- ³⁵ AHW pp. 221–222, 'Ziege'; CAD E pp. 180–183, 'goat'.
- ³⁶ G. Giacomakis: Akk. Al. p. 75, 'mng. uncertain'; AHW p. 258–259, '*eššu(m)* neu'; CAD E pp. 374–377, 'new, fresh'.
- ³⁷ AHW p. 38, 'Rind, Ochse'; CAD A/1 pp. 364–372, 'bull, ox'.
- ³⁸ M. Tsevat: HUCA 29 (1958), p. 116, note 40.
- ³⁹ AHW p. 776, '*nekru* Feind'; G. Giacomakis: Akk. Al. p. 92, 'wild'.
- ⁴⁰ Not included in CAD Z.
- ⁴¹ G. Giacomakis: Akk. Al. p. 95, 'young bull or calf'.
- ⁴² AHW p. 298, 'Prachtrind'; CAD G pp. 132–133, 'choice bull'.
- ⁴³ CAD S p. 42, 'gazelle'; M. Tsevat: HUCA 29 (1958), p. 128; B. Meissner: BuA p. 416.
- ⁴⁴ A. Salonen: Hippol. pp. 21–40.
- ⁴⁵ AHW p. 852, '*pazru* versteckt'.
- ⁴⁶ A. Salonen: Hippol. pp. 52–62.
- ⁴⁷ A. Salonen: Hippol. pp. 87–88; W. G. Lambert: BASOR 160 (1960), pp. 42–43.

- 48 Cf. A. L. Oppenheim: Beer.
- 49 B. Hrozný: Getreide pp. 143–150; AHW pp. 125–126, 'Mischung, Legierung'.
- 50 A. Salonen: HAM I, AASF B 143, 1965, Helsinki, p. 85.
- 51 AHW p. 555, '(Körper)fett'.
- 52 AHW pp. 715–716, '(Schweine-)Schmalz'; not included by G. Giacomakis: Akk.AL.
- 53 AHW p. 105, 'mit ausgezupftem Haar, geschoren'; CAD B pp. 100–101, 'plucked'.
- 54 AHW p. 284, 'geschoren'; CAD G p. 60, 'shorn'.
- 55 E. A. Speiser: JAOS 74 (1954), p. 24.
- 56 S. Smith: RSO 32 (1957) p. 182, identified with Aruda of today, at the Euphrates, south of Kargamış; M. C. Astour: JNES 22 (1963), p. 223.
- 57 AHW p. 863, 'Spinnerin'; M. Dietrich–O. Loretz: WO 3 (1966), p. 192; A. Salonen: HAM I, pp. 152–154.
- 58 AHW p. 344, 'eine Wollart'; CAD H p. 182, 'a quality of wool, *hidru* could also be a native word for wool'.
- 59 A. Goetze: JCS 13 (1959), p. 37, 'it is to be connected with *mi-en-su-ù* a variant of *mansû*, *massû* leather or the like'.
- 60 AHW p. 333, 'ein Handwerker'; CAD H p. 139, 'a maker of *hašeru*-object'; M. Dietrich–O. Loretz: WO 3 (1966), pp. 189–191, 'Junger Dientsmann, Bursche'.
- 61 E. Salonen: St.Or. 41 (1970), pp. 60–67, 'Zimmermann, Tischler'.
- 62 Cf. A. Salonen: Möbel.
- 63 A. Salonen: Möbel, pp. 176–192, 'Tisch'.
- 64 E. Salonen: St.Or. 33 (1965), pp. 40–42, 'Bogen'.
- 65 Cf. A. Salonen: LAM.
- 66 Cf. A. Salonen: St. Or. 8/IV (1939).
- 67 A. Salonen: HAM II, pp. 220–221, 'Kanne aus Holz'.
- 68 A. Salonen: HAM I, pp. 230–241, 'Korb'.
- 69 E. Salonen: St.Or. 41 (1970), p. 326, 'Hersteller der Rohrpfeile'.
- 70 E. Salonen: St.Or. 41 (1970), pp. 257–263, 'Weber'.
- 71 E. Salonen: St.Or. 41 (1970), pp. 275–276, 'eine Art Weber'.
- 72 Ass. Hw. p. 532, 'eine besondere Art Thierfell oder Wollstoff'; ŠL II/2, 296/75d *pu-si-ku* 'Wolle'; AHW p. 883, 'gekämmte Wolle'; J. Aro: Mittelbabylonische Kleidertexte der Hilprecht-Sammlung Jena (Kleidertexte), Sitzungsberichte der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Band 115, Heft 2, 1970, Berlin, p. 29, 'gekämmte Wolle'.
- 73 AHW p. 590; J. Aro: Kleidertexte, p. 27, 'ein Gewand'.
- 74 AHW p. 715, 'Gewand, Mantel'; J. Aro: Kleidertexte, pp. 27–28.
- 75 AHW p. 406, '(tág) *ù-ta-a* ein Gewand'.
- 76 AHW p. 836, 'Kopfbinde, Mütze'.
- 77 AHW p. 498, 'Turbanmacher'.
- 78 AHW p. 812, 'ein Frauengewand'.
- 78^a A. Salonen: AFO 17 (1954–56), p. 379, cf. Aram. *serbālīn* 'eine Kleidungsstück'.
- 79 CAD § pp. 221–225, 'garment (for men and women, usually made of wool, untailored, blanket like, covering the entire body)'; J. Aro: Kleidertexte, p. 32.
- 80 ŠL II/3, 384/141–144, *šapiltum* 'Unterleid?', 'ein Beruf, der die šaggadu-Kleider anfertigt'; M. Birot: ARMT 9, p. 307, 'vêtement de dessous'.
- 81 G. Giacomakis: Akk.AL p. 85, under *lippanu*.
- 82 E. Salonen: St. Or. 41 (1970), pp. 79–83, 'Lederarbeiter'.
- 83 Cf. A. Salonen: Die Fussbekleidung der alten Mesopotamier AASF B 157, 1969, Helsinki (FAM).
- 84 A. Salonen: FAM p. 15–30, 'Sandal'.
- 85 E. Salonen: St.Or. 41 (1970), pp. 317–320, 'Töpfer'.
- 86 A. Salonen: HAM II, pp. 49–69.
- 87 Cf. C. L. Woolley: Alalakh.
- 88 Cf. note 2.
- 89 C. L. Woolley: Alalakh, p. 259, plates Lx-Lxi, No. 9–21.
- 90 W. Nagel–E. Strommenger: JCS 12 (1958), pp. 109–123.
- 91 E. Salonen: St.Or. 41 (1970), pp. 233–235, 'Steinmetz, Steinschneider', 'Siegelschneider'.

- ⁹² C. L. Woolley: Alalakh, Plate XVIIb the palace of Level VII, tusks of elephants were found on the floor of room no. 11.
- ⁹³ E. Salonen: St.Or. 41 (1970), pp. 123–131, 'Schmied'.
- ⁹⁴ E. Salonen: St.Or. 41 (1970), pp. 111–115, 'Juwelier, Goldschmied'.
- ⁹⁵ AHw p. 4, 'Blei'; CAD A/1 pp. 36–38, 'lead'.
- ⁹⁶ AHw p. 49, 'Zinn'; CAD A/2 pp. 127–130, 'tin'.
- ⁹⁷ CAD E pp. 321–325, 'cooper'.
- ⁹⁸ E. Salonen: St.Or. 33 (1965), pp. 90–92, 'eine Art (Lanzen) spitze', 'Lanze'.
- ⁹⁹ G. Giacumakis: Akk.AL. p. 98, 'a type of metal button'.
- ¹⁰⁰ AHw p. 358, 'Gold'; CAD H pp. 245–247, 'gold'.
- ¹⁰¹ CAD I/J p. 10, 'bracelet'.
- ¹⁰² D. J. Wiseman: AT p. 106, 'I dagger with golden sheath'; can perhaps be brought into connection with the verb 'to put on a bandage' CAD S p. 91 *šamadu*.
- ¹⁰³ AHw p. 454, 'Silber'.
- ¹⁰⁴ AHw p. 354, 'Halsring'; CAD H pp. 229–230, 'ring (as ornament)'.
- ¹⁰⁵ AHw p. 54, 'Ring, Ohrring'; CAD A/2 p. 144, 'ring, ear-ring'.
- ¹⁰⁶ E. Salonen: St.Or. 33 (1965), pp. 49–55, 'Dolch, Schwert'; A Salonen: HAM I, pp. 27–32, 'Messer (auch Dolch)'.
- ¹⁰⁷ A. Salonen: HAM II pp. 138–147, 'Tasse, auch Schale'.
- ¹⁰⁸ A. Salonen: HAM II, pp. 145–146.
- ¹⁰⁹ G. Giacumakis: Akk.AL. p. 104, 'ring'.
- ¹¹⁰ AHw pp. 837–838, 'Eisen'.
- ¹¹¹ Ass.Hw. p. 508, 'Bronze'.
- ¹¹² AHw p. 306, 'ein Gefäß'.
- ¹¹³ AHw p. 311, 'eine Art Trommel'; CAD H p. 41, 'a kind of drum'.
- ¹¹⁴ A. Salonen: HAM II p. 324, 'Opferschale (als Untersatz) mit altarähnlichem Ständer'; the *ahrušhu* is placed on it (126: 13, 36, 432: 11; A. Salonen: HAM II pp. 94–95, 'Schale').
- ¹¹⁵ D. J. Wiseman: AT p. 52, we cannot accept the 'harvest' translation; E. A. Speiser: JAOS 74 (1954), p. 24; L. Oppenheim: JNES 14 (1955), p. 197.
- ¹¹⁶ Cf. I. M. Djakonov: Problems of Property. The Structure of Near Eastern Society to the Middle of the Second Millennium B. C., 4. The Structure of the State Sector of the Economy in Western Asia, VDI 1969/4, pp. 3–33 (in Russian).
- ¹¹⁷ Cf. W. F. Leemans: Merchant.
- ¹¹⁸ W. F. Leemans: Merchant pp. 29–34; G. Giacumakis: Akk.AL. p. 102, 'apprentice'.
- ¹¹⁹ G. Giacumakis: Akk.AL. p. 87, 'sailor'; M. Tsevat: HUCA 29 (1958), p. 121.